304 577 upper thighs, a custom which was imported by the morally loose Jaunde. The people generally regard the custom as shameful, and they excuse it by saying: "After all they are only women; men would be ashamed to go around this way" (similarly, as among us, only women go around "décolleté").

304 Among the Pangwe the division of labor and specialization in all areas of artistic and intellectual endeavor are extreme, and this also appears in the art of tattooing which is mastered by perhaps only one in a hundred. The operation, which, incidentally, is quite unpleasant although not nearly as painful as the decorative scars, is performed in the meeting house without any kind of formalities. The "patient" sits or lies down during the process (Fig. 152). First of all, soot is made by burning some resin (otū), see page 42, and letting the smoke deposit the soot on a potsherd. The artist first traces the pattern on the body by /200/ /Fig. 152 appears here in the original text/ impressing the curved lines with a flexible, moist leaf of grass that has first been placed in ashes and the straight lines with a similarly treated raffia stick. The lines that project too far are carefully wiped away with a wet finger. For the "cobweb pattern" the artist makes use of a pistil of the hand-shaped leaf of the umbrella tree (Musanga), whose ribs are broken off one centimeter above the base after the removal of the leafy part. On the lines he has drawn, he uses his knife to make little diagonal incisions very close to one another, wipes away the blood that seeps out if it is in the way, and rubs the wounds with the resin soot, carefully pressing it in with his thumb or index finger. In other cases, the resin itself, after it has been rubbed to a powder, is put into the wounds, but in that case only resin from the Anonacea Xylopia aethiopica (Dun.) V. Rich. (ojǎ,n). The surface of the tattooed part of the body is now /Figs. 153, 154, and 155 appear here in the original text/ washed to get rid of the blood and soot. Later, rubbing with resin is repeated once more. It sometimes happens that /201/ small swellings form on the wounds which diminish the beauty of the pattern; usually, however, the wounds heal smoothly in a very short period of time.

304 413 Two types of tattooing are distinguished. There is the widespread ekūt, and secondly there is the endōlō, the customary one

1: Tessmann--207 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9
/200/

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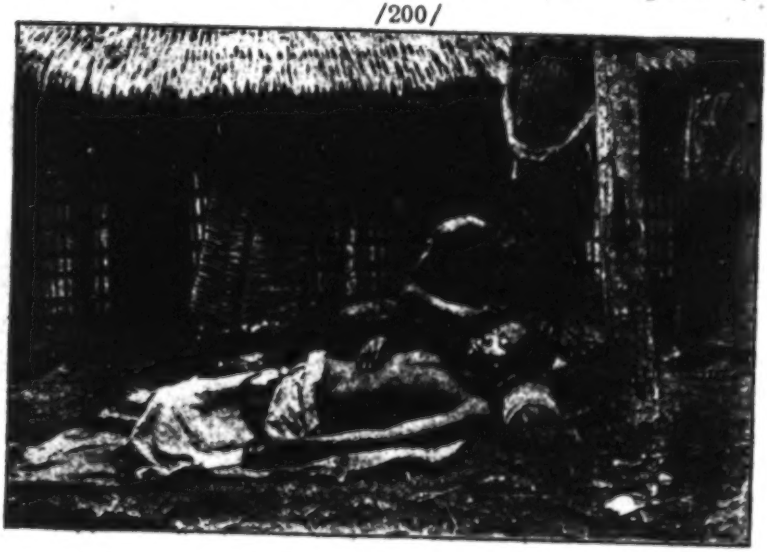

Fig. 152. Tattoo Artist at Work, Nikolentángan, Spanish Guinea.

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Figs. 153 and 154. Knives without Handles for Tattooing (ekut).

Fig. 155. Knife for Tattooing (bendolo).

304 413 among the Fang. The first type is performed with a narrow knife with no handle (nsŏ́ń-bekŭ't I), Figure 153, and, depending upon the depth of the parallel incisions, shows lines composed of clearly raised cuts or, less distinctly, uniformly dark lines. For endṓlo tattooing, an ordinary razor (okŏ́nngón), see Figure 140, or a special scalpel-like knife (ōkón e myán), Figure 155, is used. Its patterns are characterized by the crisscrossing of its cuts; in later years, however, they can scarcely be distinguished from the bekŭ't, especially since both pale with age.

304 465 Tattoo artists are usually not paid when members of their own kin group are concerned, but from strangers they frequently demand shamelessly high prices. Thus, the man represented in Figure 218, Drawing (c), was thoroughly swindled, as will be apparent from the figures given here in the footnote (1). At the

1. Tattooing of Mangame-Ssii, Fang from Ebiănemajong (Essauong family); see Figure 218, Drawing c.

	Marks
(a) Made by Meka-Mendongo (Essauong) for three pieces of rubber	.75
(b, c, d) Made by Akoa-Mbelewe (Jenkŏng) for two cutlasses	1.00
(e) Made by Mba-Efanga (Essauong) for five strings of beads	.50
(g, h) Made by Endongo (Essauong) for one ell of cloth	.75
(i, k) Made by Ndong-Efa (Jemwam) for three cutlasses	1.50
(f, l, m) Made by Ndong-Ntutum (Omwang) for three cutlasses	1.50
(n, o) Made by Meko-Mefanga (Essauong) for three pieces of rubber	.75
Decorative scars, made by Meba-Mendongo (Jibikon) for one hen	1.00

Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.

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Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okɔ̰n̄) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abɔ̌ʼm, bɔ̌ᵐme IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezɨzɔ̄n̄), and poison (nɨ̄ɣ̄). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bɔ̌me o sɨ̄ = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abɔ̌ʼm from a bɔ̌m, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

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[435]
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[826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

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881 During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the
304 boys' food certain aphrodisiac stimulants, cardamon seeds [524]
779 (Amomum citriodorum), a wonderful red fruit (Lavigeria), and
832 onzakôn (Antrocaryon klaineanum) which, apart from these oc-
824 casions, only women may eat. They are even forbidden to say the name of that tree, because the word nkôn denotes the male genital organ; they must say onzabili, the onza tree. In addition the fruit of the onzakôn has a slight resemblance to a phallus.

Throughout their seclusion the children sleep stretched out
881 on the ashes of the hearths. They must tell the chief what they
304 have dreamt about; the family totem ought, in fact, to re-
779 veal itself to them at this time. Since the chief speaks to the
828 children frequently and since they know that they are supposed to have the totem in mind, the suggestion, intimate and strange at the same time, leads easily to the desired result. If, however, a different object from the family totem, animal or other, appears more vividly and repeatedly in their imaginations, it would be a sign that the totemic guardian spirit wants to adopt another medium and, consequently, the child's totem, if he has a personal one, has to be changed.

5) The ceremony

881 On the day of the operation, the practitioner, who has
304 been forewarned, goes to the enclosure, accompanied by the
779 fathers. Each child is questioned in turn; then there is a big dance performed in honor of the ancestors and guardian spirits of the clan. Each head of the family has brought along his mvamayôn and now explains it to the child. A new dance is done after this initiation. Each father then stretches his son out on the ground, sits down beside him, and slips his legs beneath the child's body in such a way as to raise the middle of the body. The practitioner has a knife in hand kept specially for this purpose and carefully wrapped in a little sheath. The
● [413] knife used to be made of stone, but that kind has become very rare. Knives are now usually made of copper and are curiously worked, one end being beak shaped, the other pointed; they are not hafted. These knives are called ekèlokèn.

685 If the offense is admitted, punishment follows immediately. With theft, for instance, the person who has committed larceny must make a restitution of double the value. In some tribes, the thief if condemned to lose an ear, a finger, a hand, sometimes a foot. Often he may be sold into slavery. Among the Fan he has merely to return twice the amount stolen.

684 In case of adultery, the culprit pays the value of the woman and is also often kept prisoner for a long time in the plaintiff's village; his head is shaved and he is exposed to the sun, covered with spices. If payment is not made, and even if it is, the woman's father or husband has the right -- and makes use of it -- to cut the joints of the culprit's fingers so that he is made almost powerless. Women are cruelly beaten and spices are rubbed into her wounds. She is also chastised with the [413] nkôñ éki, (2) a kind of long iron shears used to pinch deeply and

2. This is the name of certain villages where the blacksmiths are found who are skilfull in making these instruments of torture.

cruelly burn the genital organs. At the second offense her nose and ears are cut off; a third brings death.

682 In case of murder, the murderer, when captured, is killed and eaten. Furthermore, his family must pay compensation with a woman or the equivalent value, that is, two lives for one.

695 For all other charges and for those just mentioned, when the acknowledged or presumed culprit denies his guilt, judicial trial is required. [560]

Whatever the ordeal, they may all be considered from two points of view, or even are of two degrees. The first ordeal is intended to "indicate" the likely culprit; the second, to decide whether or not he is really guilty. Punishment is immediate and strikes simultaneously at body and soul.

The first step is therefore to discover the culprit. With theft, murder, or sorcery, the ordeals vary according to the case.